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For the actual marriage ceremony, according to Graevenbroeck, 585
a couple of sheep or even a cow are slaughtered. While the meat is being cooked, the bride is handed over to an old woman, who instructs her in the duties of married life, teaches her how to keep her husband and to love him, " and in what the secrets of wedlock consist." Then the old woman smears the gall of the slaughtered animal over the feet of the bride, and ties its bladder to the roof of the hut in which all this is taking place. The magician who has slaughtered the animal then comes up to the young couple, who are naked or at most dressed in a loin-cloth, smears their bodies from head to foot with fat, and powders them both with *buchu*. He next ties round their necks the twisted pericardium of the animal, and finally admonishes them to live in mutual faith and love, wishes them a numerous offspring, and so forth. All then feast on the remains of the animal, the men and the women eating apart. The bride, however, must remain fasting until the following morning. The feast is followed by dancing, which is kept up till late, and then the young couple are left alone in the hut and the marriage is consummated. If the marriage is celebrated more handsomely, the bridegroom on the next day brings the bride to his own home, accompanied by relatives of both and friends. Here she is welcomed with a new drinking bout and a feast, and the young couple are again admonished and given good wishes. Everybody then returns to his normal occupation.

Kolb's description differs somewhat from the above. When the arrangements for the marriage have been concluded, he says, the bridegroom, accompanied by his father, drives one, two, or three fat oxen, according to his means, to the hut or camp of the bride, where her parents and friends are assembled together. The oxen are here slaughtered, the people smear themselves with the fat of the animals and powder themselves with *buchu*, while the women in addition paint their faces with red powder. The men and the women then seat themselves in two rings, each sex by itself; the bride squats in the centre of the women's ring, the bridegroom in the centre of the men's ring. The *auri* or magician of the camp now goes to the men's ring, and as soon as he reaches the bridegroom says a few words to him, then urinates over him from head to foot; this he also does to the bride, as soon as he enters the ring of women. This performance he repeats twice again. The words accompanying it wish the young couple good fortune in their married life, and express the hope that they will be blessed in the coming year with

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881 885 in describing them as they existed in his time among the Cape Hottentots. Until, he says, the boy is initiated, generally in about his eighteenth year, he must remain under the direct control of his mother and associate with the women at meals; he may not eat even with his father, let alone set himself up as a man. When at last his father, or the men as a whole, resolve to receive him into their company, all the inhabitants of the kraal assemble in the open space in the middle, where the men sit down in a circle. The initiate, smeared all over with fat and soot, squats down beyond them. The oldest man present then asks the others if they are willing to admit the boy into their ranks; on receiving their acquiescence, he steps up to the boy and informs him that henceforth he is freed from submission to his mother and that he must no longer associate with the women. Then the old man urinates freely over the boy, at the same time wishing him good fortune, fertility, a ripe old age, and similar blessings. This done, all the men feast on a sheep provided by the friends of the boy, and the latter now joins them. He is thus confirmed in the privilege of associating, eating, and drinking with the men, and leaves behind him the reproach of being a milksop. The [192] word *kasaive*, by which according to Kolb uninitiated boys are derided as being attached to women's company, is equally offensive when hurled at a mature man. He may not rest under it, but his case is [783] examined by the men, and if the accusation is upheld he is excluded from their company until he has purified himself by slaughtering a sheep. This the men eat, while he himself receives only the fat and the entrails, which he must cook with the animal's blood and consume.[1]

881 514 The urination figuring so conspicuously in Kolb's description of this and other ceremonies has been seized upon by many later writers as an instance of romantic falsification. But although there is much in his description of the Cape Hottentots not altogether above suspicion, he is confirmed on this particular point by other reliable authorities. Thus Thunberg, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says: "The custom is not quite laid aside of making youth, at a certain age, men; from which time they are separated from the women, and associate only with men. After the youth has been besprinkled, according to custom, with urine, some animal is killed, and its omentum, or caul, is tied about his neck."[2] And Wikar, in describing the boys' puberty ceremonies among the

[1] Op. cit., 59-60. [2] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 40.

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Little Namaqua tribes, says that when a young Hottentot is "made a man" he is first cleansed with water, to do away with his "child" or "goatherd dirt", next rubbed all over with fat, then urinated upon by the old men for three days in succession, after which he is cleansed with the blood of an animal specially killed for the purpose, and finally is again smeared with fat, while at the same time all his cattle are sprinkled with liquid fat. In another context our author states that the boy has also to provide a special meal in which only he and previously-initiated men may take part. This, of course, is the sacramental meal accompanying all these transition rites.[1] Hahn likewise testifies emphatically from his own observations among the Naman that a youth upon being initiated is besprinkled with urine by the magician ("zauberdoctor"); but unfortunately he gives no further details at all about the ceremony.[2]

The fullest account we have of the boys' puberty rites among the Naman is given by Olpp.[3] He states that there is no special time at which they have to be performed. An adolescent youth of any age can be subjected to them, the occasion apparently being determined primarily by the father and by the latter's ability to provide the necessary cattle for slaughter and milking. The boy is then placed under the care of an old man specially selected for this purpose, who naturally has himself long previously undergone the rites.[4] The latter at once proceeds to erect a small mat enclosure inside a bigger hut. Here he stays together with the boy as long as the period of seclusion lasts. The first act on the part of the boy is to clean himself by washing off all the ochre with which he has previously been smeared. Then one of the animals provided for slaughter is killed by the old man, cooked, and the meat shared between him and the boy. Campbell states that the fat of the animal is tied on the head and round the neck of the boy, where it must be worn until it rots and falls away.[5] This, however, is not mentioned by Olpp. The meal over, the old man blows ("blast") on the upper part of the boy's body, and immediately commences to instruct him in the rules of behaviour proper to a mature man.

These rules Olpp renders in the form of the following precepts:

[1] "Beiträge zur Sitte der Herero," 103–4, 94.
[2] "Beiträge zur Kenntis der Hottentotten," 8.
[3] "Aus dem Sagenschatze der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 44–7.
[4] From a casual remark by Hahn ("Tsuni-||Goam," 12) it is the magician (*gui*) and not the boy's father who performs the rite of making a boy a man".
[5] *Travels in S. Africa*, 430.

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A somewhat similar ceremony was held among the Cape Hottentots, but the description given of it by Kolb differs from the above, and is therefore worth recording. The skill and dexterity displayed in the chase by a single huntsman, he says,[1] was considered the highest act of heroism, and the man who had succeeded in killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or other big game animal was honoured by the whole kraal with marks of respect and was an object of universal admiration. On returning to his home he was subjected to the customary "anders-machen" rite. Proceeding to the central space where the people were assembled to receive him, he seated himself on a mat in the centre of the circle that formed about him. One of the old men then rose, and urinated all over him, "at the same time muttering some words whose meaning I was never able to understand or to learn." The dagga pipe was next lighted and circulated as usual, but the hunter received only the ashes that remained, which were strewed over his body by the old man. From now on he enjoyed great honour, and as a proof of his agility and heroism could wear on his head the bladder of the animal he had slain.

The ceremony over, he retired to his hut, where he remained secluded for three days, during which time he was fed with the best meat and the finest provisions procurable. During this time also he was forbidden all intercourse with his wife. The latter had to leave the kraal every morning when the herds were driven out to pasture, and might not return again till they came back in the evening. Outside the kraal she might not eat anything at all, and even when back in it had to live only upon such meagre fare as she could lay hands upon. At the end of the third day, when the hunter was supposed to have recovered his former vigour and strength, his wife was reinstated in the hut; he slaughtered a fat sheep, invited all his neighbours to the feast, and thereafter could again live with her.

Kolb's description of this ceremony gives no indication that it was an initiation rite, but implies rather that it was performed whenever the occasion was offered by the killing of a big game animal. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this is contradictory to Wikar's account, from which it appears that the first time a man killed such an animal, or obtained the privilege of being regarded as the "master killer", afforded the opportunity for receiving him into the ranks of the hunters, signalized by the scarification, while on subsequent occasions the ceremony was merely repeated without the operation,

[1] *Vergelegen der Gantze Hoffnung*, 128–9.

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The funeral over, everybody returned to the kraal. Here, according to Kolb, the men and the women again squatted apart in front of the hut, repeating their wailing and frequently calling on the dead person by name. At last silence fell, and the oldest of the men arose, entered the circle first of the men and then of the women, and besprinkled them with his urine. Then he entered the hut through the door, took some ashes from the hearth, came out through the opening previously made in the back, and strewed the ashes over all the people, who rubbed them into their bodies. Some of the near relatives also took cowdung and smeared it over their arms, legs and body. Then they all separated and went to their huts. The family of the deceased, however, did not dare to enter the hut where he had died, but sought accommodation with other people.

On the following day all the huts in the kraal were taken down and the people left the locality; but the hut of the dead person was left standing with all its belongings. Nothing might be taken from it. Before the departure, the heir of the dead person slaughtered a sheep, and such of the other near relatives as could afford it did the same. All who had been present at the funeral were then feasted with this meat. The caul of the sheep he had slaughtered was thickly strewn with *kucha*, twisted into a cord, and hung round the neck of the heir, where he had to wear it until it rotted away. The other relatives likewise hung about their necks the cauls of the sheep they had killed. Poor relatives, if they could not afford to slaughter an animal and hence were unable to procure a caul, shaved their heads in furrowed ridges as a sign that they too were in mourning.

It is uncertain from Kolb's account just which people were expected to mourn, and whether the signs of mourning varied according to the relationship of the mourners to the deceased. An earlier description speaks of all the men of a large kraal having their heads shaved as a sign of mourning, but as the dead person concerned was their chief, the usage in this case may not have been the one customary in ordinary deaths.[1] At the same time, there is nothing to indicate whether the funerary rites for chiefs differed in any way from those for commoners. There is also no clear indication how long the period of mourning lasted, and whether any special prohibitions and other usages had to be observed by the mourners during this period. Kolb simply says that the lamentations might be kept up for three or four days or even a week after the death, but throws no further light on the question.

[1] Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 269.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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affection, or gratitude inspired by each. By this constant round of varied pleasures his appetite is freshly whetted. A disobedient wife he beats, one whose badness is beyond reform he puts away. S 595

If a woman bear a live male, the father makes her a present of a cow that is with calf, and the mother is instructed to rear the boy on her own milk and that of the beast; and he brings him up with due care, and sees to it that his property increases. If a woman bear a daughter, the husband gives the same commands to her as when acknowledging a son; but when the child is strong enough to be able of its own accord and unaided to allay its thirst from a vessel with milk, water, or beer, he forthwith joins the cow which he gave for the nourishment of his daughter, together with its calf, to the rest of his herd.[36]) The women lead a hard, rough life which produces barrenness; they are scarcely adolescent before they are effete. This is in my judgment the reason for the smallness of the population. S 562 593 853 S [842 145]

They worship the sun and value it highly as the author of all good. The moon they despise. They call the sun *sore*, the moon *cha*, the latter being also their word for dung. It seems as if they imputed to the moon all diseases of men and beasts, the inclemency of the sky, and the prevalence of disasters of every kind.[37]) When the moon is full, women who are in their monthly courses blame it for their illness. [The women stand up and part their legs to make water; the men bend their knees and almost touch their ankles with their hams. Neither sex breaks wind or belches. They express their disgust pretty sharply, and not without excuse, when they meet this fault in Europeans.[38])] They also condemn with curt and biting ridicule the precious necklaces of the Europeans, strung with a needle on a slender thread, bought for a greater price than the largest flocks of sheep, and having no other use, convenience, or value than that fictitious one that luxury provides. Yet they themselves sometimes banish or avert diseases by the power of entrails and intestines which they hang round their necks, and by the fat of slaughtered beasts, remedies greatly scoffed at by our countrymen. H 821 771 753 841 H 514 576 H [755]

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37) On the Hottentot beliefs relating to the sun and the moon, see above, pp. 138, 141. (The Naman use the terms *sores* for the sun, and *//kaub* for the moon; and so do the Koranna, so that G. is obviously referring to the Hottentots. He is wrong, however, in stating that the same word is used for "dung" as for "moon." The former, in Nama, is *roub*.)

38) The passages within square brackets are omitted by van Oordt in his Dutch translation of G.'s MS.